

Proceedings of AFLA 7

The Seventh Meeting of the Austronesian Formal
Linguistics Association

Edited by
Marian Klamer

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Department of Linguistics
2000

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Preface

This volume consists of papers presented at the seventh meeting of AFLA (Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association), held at the Vrije Universiteit on May 11-13, 2000.

For the first time in the history of AFLA, this meeting was held outside the North-American continent, and contained contributions by speakers from eleven different countries: New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan, the USA including Hawaii, Canada, the UK, France, Germany, and The Netherlands.

Apart from the languages that are traditionally well-represented at Austronesian conferences, we were happy to see that the program also contained work on relatively small or lesser described languages, such as the minority languages of Taiwan, North-West Borneo, Eastern Indonesia, Papua and Oceania.

Special themes of this conference were Iconicity and Argument marking. The papers in this volume show that the program covered a broad range of subdisciplines -- from discourse grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax, to semantics -- and that the authors are working within various theoretical frameworks. But despite the obvious differences in expertise, interest and background, the atmosphere on the conference was typically AFLA: lively and constructive, with an average rate of attendance of about 80%. The papers in this volume deserve the same rate of attention.

This meeting has again furthered the unwritten mandate of AFLA to encourage the formal study of Austronesian languages, especially work by speaker linguists and junior scholars. Six scholars presented analyses of their native language, and more than half of the 45 participants subscribed as 'student'. This suggests that the future of Austronesian linguistics looks very bright indeed.

The eight edition of Afla will be held in the spring of 2001 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston, USA. The principal organiser will be Ileana Paul.

Marian Klamer, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Proceedings of previous AFLA meetings:

A Selection of the papers of AFLA 2, in 1995 is published as:
Paul, Ileana, Vivianne Phillips, and Lisa Travis (eds.). 2000. *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics*. Dordrecht, Kluwer.

The proceedings of AFLA 3 and AFLA 4 in 1996/1997 are published as:
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The proceedings of AFLA 6 in 1999 are published as:
Smallwood, Carolyn and Catherine Kitto (eds.). 2000. *Proceedings of AFLA VI*. Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics.

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Valence changing clitics and incorporated prepositions in Teop (Oceanic, Bougainville, PNG)

Ulrike Mosel & Jessika Reinig¹

University of Kiel

1. Introduction

Our paper examines valence changing clitics and incorporated prepositions in Teop, an Oceanic language of the Meso-Melanesian Cluster² which is spoken on the north east coast on Bougainville. For practical reasons, the investigation will be strictly synchronic.

2. The structure of the verb complex

Teop has a highly complex verb phrase which besides the nucleus and TAM markers can contain the following elements:

- a discontinuous negation
- an incorporated noun
- a serial verb
- a directional particle
- several adverbs
- a valence changing clitic or an incorporated preposition
- the 3rd person plural object marker.

The boundaries of the verb phrase are defined by TAM markers which hold the initial and the final position. The final TAM marker is a portemanteau morph which indicates imperfective aspect and person. Typical examples are the following:

- (1) E bubuu na hio ihuana nana bona nahu kaukau.
 ART granny REAL sit wait.for IMPF:3SG ART pot sweet potato³
 ‘Granny is sitting waiting for the pot of sweet-potatoes.’ (pr. 4.27)⁴

Example (1) shows the TAM markers na and nana which enclose the serial verb construction *hio ihuana* ‘sit and wait for’.

In example (2)

- (2) Ean sa paa rake haa bata maa nom a beiko te-naa.
 2SG NEG PAST like NEG at.the.same.time DIR IMPF:2SG ART child PREP-1SG
 ‘At the same time you did not like my child.’ (Ioanna)⁵

we find:

- the discontinuous negation sa ... haa,
- the past tense marker paa
- the nucleus rake ‘like’

- the adverb bata ‘at the same time’
- the directional marker maa ‘hither, towards me or the deictic centre’,
- and nom, the imperfective aspect marker of the second person singular. This form is also used for first person singular, exclusive plural, and the second person plural.

The two examples also show the basic word order of transitive clauses, namely:

subject + verbal predicate + object

3. Valence of verbs and verb complexes

As Margetts (1999) has recently shown for the Oceanic Papuan Tip language Saliba, we have to distinguish between the valence of verbs and the valence of verb complexes, because the valence of the verb and the verb complex may be different. In Teop, for instance, an intransitive verb can be combined with an applicative clitic or an incorporated preposition which makes the verb complex transitive. On the other hand, an intransitive verb complex can be formed by the combination of a transitive verb with an incorporated object.

Teop has intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs and verb complexes. An example for a ditransitive verb is hee ‘give’ as in the following example:

- (3) Eam toro hee e beera bono kahoo guu.
 2PL must give ART chief ART head pig
 ‘You must give the chief the pig’s head.’ (TD hee)⁶

Here the verb complex toro hee ‘must give’ is also ditransitive. The semantic roles of the two objects of ditransitive verbs and verb complexes are not confined to Recipient, Benefactive or Addressee and Patient as in (3). In our data we also found several examples of activity verbs whose first and second object denote a patient and an instrument as in (4)

- (4) Miriki a beiko bona ta naono.
 strike ART child ART piece wood
 ‘Strike the child with a stick.’ (TD miriki)

The core arguments of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive predicates do not need to be expressed if the participants can be identified from the context.

4. Articles

Noun phrases start with an article. The paradigm of articles is rather complex and cannot be described here.⁷ For the present paper it is sufficient to know that there are - among others -

1. the basic articles a, e and o as in (1) e bubuu 'granny' and in (2) a beiko tenaa 'my child' and
2. the object articles bona, bene and bono as in (1) bona nahu kaukau 'the pot of sweet-potatoes'.

The object articles are used with object noun phrases provided that the object follows the verb complex, and that the subject is a third person singular as in example (1). Otherwise the object noun phrase has the basic article as in (2) where the subject is a first or second person. Which of the basic articles a, e, o or the object articles bona, bene, bono is selected depends on the noun class of the noun. The article selection rule also applies for the first object of ditransitive predicates. Depending on the person of the subject, the object takes either the basic article or the object article. The second object, however, is always marked by the object article; for example bono kahoo guu in (3) and bona ta naono in (4).

5. The valence changing clitics ni and me/mi

The valence of verb complexes can be increased by the clitics ni and me/ mi which never occur outside the verb complex. As will be shown in a minute, both clitics can be compared to applicatives in other languages according to the definition given by Baker (1996):

- (5) Applicatives are standardly characterized as constructions in which a derivational morpheme is attached to the verb resulting in the verb taking a new nominal as its surface object. Thus, the applicative form of an intransitive base verb acts like a transitive verb, while the applicative form of a transitive base verb acts like a ditransitive verb. This new 'applied' nominal expresses a thematic role that otherwise would have to be expressed obliquely or not at all. (BAKER 1996: 427)
- (6) ni applicative clitic marking an object whose semantic role is determined by the lexical semantics of the verb
me/mi applicative clitic marking a comitative object

5.1. The applicative clitic ni

The clitic ni transitivises intransitive verb phrases. Example (7)

- (7) A moon na gavagava nana.
 ART girl REAL angry IMPF:3.SG
 'The girl is angry.' (TD gavagava)

shows an intransitive verb complex. In example (8)

- (8) E bubuu na gavagava ni nana bene Sovavi.
 ART granny REAL angry APPL IMPF:3.SG ART Sovavi
 'Granny is angry with Sovavi.' (pr. 3.19)⁸

the verb complex na gavagava nana is transitivised by ni and governs the object bene Sovavi.

Our data do not provide any example in which ni makes a transitive verb complex ditransitive, but there are examples in which ni increases the semantic transitivity in the sense of Hopper & Thompson's (1980) notion of transitivity. For instance,

- (9) ato v.t., touch s.th., ato ni v.t., hold onto s.th.

In (10)

- (10) ... eove he ato bona metatono.
 3SG CONJ touch ART eel
 '... he touched the eel.' (pr. 5.25)⁹

the eel is only touched, whereas the object in (11)

- (11) Ato vakikisi ni- a taba.
 hold strongly APPL -ART thing
 'Strongly hold onto the thing' (for instance, a wriggling fish you have in your hand).
 (TD ato)

is hold against its resistance. Another example is

- (12) rahi v.t., pull (a string, fishing line), haul (a canoe),
rahi ni v.t., catch (fish with a fishing line) (TD rahi)

This corresponds to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) notion of transitivity as a graduable property of clauses. They observed that clauses expressing a high degree of affectedness of the object are often also formally more transitive than those with less affected objects. The semantic role of the applied object is directly related to the lexical semantics of the verb and seems to be predictable. It expresses for example

- (13) the CONTENT with verbs of speech and thought
moroko 'speak' moroko ni 'speak about'

the CAUSE with verbs of physiological reactions
dadana 'shake, shiver' dadana ni 'shake, shiver because of'
mate 'die' mate ni 'die of'
tagune 'wake up' tagune ni 'wake up from'

the STIMULUS/TARGET of psychological verbs:
mararae 'be happy' mararae ni 'be happy about'
naabu 'be afraid' naabu ni 'be afraid of'

the INSTRUMENT of activity verbs
kiki 'play soccer' kiki ni 'play soccer with (the ball of ...)' (pr. 5.13)

There do not seem to be constructions with oblique arguments which would correspond to the transitive constructions with ni. Thus 'to speak about', 'shiver because of', 'die of' etc. can only be expressed by the applicative construction. In other words, the ni-constructions do not serve as a means of promoting oblique arguments to core arguments.

5.2. The applicative clitic me

The applicative clitic me/mi is similar to ni, the only difference being that the semantic role of the applied object is always CONCOMITANCE. Typical examples are found in

- (14) tei (itr.) 'live, stay, be' tei me/mi (tr.) 'be with, have s.th.'
toho (itr.) 'play' toho me/mi (tr.) 'play with s.o.'

Examples (15) and (16) show the contrast between the intransitive construction of tei and the transitive construction of tei ni.

- (15) Na tei nana te-a inu a rutaa.
REAL be IMPF:3SG PREP-ART house ART small
'He stays in a small house.' (TD tei)

- (16) A beiko na tei mi nana bono kaakan ...
ART child REAL be with IMPF:3SG ART worm
'The child has worms...' (TD tei)

As with ni, we do not have any examples of di-transitivisation.

6. The incorporation of prepositions

The valence of verb complexes can be increased by the incorporation of one of three prepositions. These prepositions are:

- (17) ki / ka- 'for, to' (recipient, benefactive, addressee)
 kahi 'from' (source)
 suku 'because of' (cause)

Prepositional phrases introduced by ki can function as a predicate in non-verbal sentences and as adjuncts as in (18) and (19).

- (18) A- maa toogori ki bene teiee?
 ART-PL toogori for ART who
 'The toogori (fish) are for whom?' (pr. 3.57)

- (19) Enam na von a sosepene a voon ki bene iaa.
 EXC REAL buy ART saucepan ART new PREP ART Mum
 'We bought a new saucepan for Mum.' (elicited)

When the prepositional phrase functions as a predicate or an adjunct, the noun phrase governed by ki has the object article. In (19), the PATIENT NP a sosepene a voon 'a new saucepan' is the direct object and the RECIPIENT ki bene iaa 'for Mum' is the adjunct. According to the article selection rule, the PATIENT NP has the basic article and the RECIPIENT NP has the object article.

But when ki is incorporated, the RECIPIENT becomes a direct object as in (20):

- (20) Enam na von ki ma-e iaa bona nahu a voon.
 EXC REAL buy for DIR-ART Mum ART pot ART new
 'We bought Mum a new pot.' (TD nahu)

Here the RECIPIENT NP (e iaa) has the basic article because it is the direct object and the subject is not a third person. The PATIENT NP bona nahu is the second object and has the object article.

The examples (19) and (20) show that incorporation of ki promotes the adjunct to a direct object and at the same time demotes the former direct object to a second object. Thus the incorporation of ki here makes a transitive verb complex ditransitive.

An example of transitivity is given in (21) and (22):

- (21) Na aheahe nana.
 REAL sing IMPF:3G
 'She is singing.'

- (22) Na aheahe ki nana bene Satoka ...
 REAL sing for IMPF:3SG ART Satoka
 'She is singing for Satoka.' (pr. 4.19)

The examples (23) to (26) show the incorporation of the prepositions kahi and suku.

In (23) kahi 'from' introduces an adjunct, whereas in (24) it is incorporated.

- (23) Huriki a rokoroko vaarau a mate kahi bona hanana.
 remove ART frog DEM ART dead from ART road
 'Remove the frog from the road.' (TD huriki)

- (24) E Kakato na rosin kahi bata maa-na bona otei.
 ART Kakato REAL run from simultaneously DIR- IMPF:3SG ART boy
 'Kakato is running away from the boy towards me.' (TD kahi)

Similarly, the preposition suku 'because of' introduces an adjunct in (25) and is incorporated in (26).

- (25) A maa ta vaan na aun kahi bona maa vaan te-ori suku bona puana.
 ART PL people REAL leave from ART PL village PREP-3PL because.of ART war
 'The people left their villages because of the war.' (TD suku)

- (26) A beiko moon na arata suku nana bene sina-na-e to kare mate koa.
 ART child woman REAL grieve because.of IMPF:3SG ART mother-POSS.3SG REL recently die just
 'The girl is grieving because of her mother who just recently died.' (TD suku)

7. Conclusion

To conclude, there are two different kinds of applicatives in Teop. The transitivity particles ni and me which only occur within the verb complex and the incorporated prepositions ki, kahi and suku. The clitics ni and me/mi transitivity intransitive verb complexes, and ni increases the semantic transitivity of clauses. The preposition ki makes intransitive verb complexes transitive and transitive verb complexes ditransitive. Our paper also showed that it is very useful to distinguish between the valence of verbs and the valence of verb complexes.

	with intransitive verbs	with transitive verbs	effect on the clause
ni	transitivity	increase of semantic transitivity	the only way to express a certain state of affairs
me	transitivity	--	
ki	transitivity	ditransitivity	change of grammatical relations

Notes

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² Ross 1988:215 ff.

³ Abbr.: ART article, APPL the applicative clitic *ni*, CONJ the conjunction *he*, DIR directional particle, EXC 1st pers. plural exclusive, IMPF imperfective aspect, NEG negative particle, PAST past tense, PL plural, POSS possession, PREP multifunctional preposition *te*, REAL realis, REL the relative marker *to*, SG singular, TAM tense-aspect-mood.

⁴ pr. 4.27 = Saovana-Spriggs 1988:27.

⁵ From an interview done by Saovana-Spriggs with Joanna Vosunana Kactamana in 1994.

⁶ TD: from the Teop-English dictionary, Mosel and Spriggs 1999c.

⁷ For further information cf. Mosel and Spriggs 1999b.

⁸ pr.3:19 = Saovana-Spriggs & Dubert 1988a:19.

⁹ pr.5.25 = Spriggs n.d.:25.

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